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KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA





Further Particulars

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RELATION

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C A S E

O F

Admiral Byng.

FROM

ORIGINAL PAPERS, &c.

Fiat Justitia!

By a Gentleman of Oxford.

L O N D O N:

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SOME

Interesting Particulars

Tending to EXPLAIN

The late Conduct of A-B-.

B—, in being expos'd to the Refentment of the Nation for not doing what was not in his Power to do, and left to the Mercy of those who are possibly predetermined to shew him none, appears already in so glaring a Light, that a bare Mention of the Fact, is sufficient to introduce all that is here to be said upon it.

Nor will it be thought, I hope, indecent or improper for the Friends of a Gentleman, labouring under fuch a Variety of Pressures, to offer a Word or two to the Publick in his Vindication.

B

How

How heavy a Load has been laid upon him, and with what exemplary Patience he has borne it, is obvious to the whole World: And as an Interval of Candour and Moderation may possibly recur, when it will be asked, by what strange Fatality he was brought into such a Situation, it is a Duty incumbent on a Man, innocent and injur'd like him, to be provided with an Answer.

And, indeed, whoever has at present Composure enough to see Things as they really are, must be struck with no small Degree of Astonishment, in observing, what slight Premisses have produced these extraordinary Consequences.

For as yet all that has been made Public concerning this supposed Criminal, (I mean that is supported by any Degree of Authority) amounts to no more than this; That he sail'd, arrived, and sought the Enemy as soon as he could: and that, if he did not obtain a compleat Victory, so neither did he suffer any considerable Loss.

Scraps and Fragments of Intelligence, generally

nerally in the most abusive Language, have it is true been inserted from time to time in the News-Papers, under the Pretence of Letters from on Board his Fleet: But if the Matter they contain could have been rely'd on, even by those who have made so unfair a Use of it, it would, no doubt, have been reserv'd, to be given in Evidence at his Trial: And if they could not rely upon it, any Attempt to impose it on the Public, ought to be resented, as it deserves.

For their own fakes it ought to be refented; for without the Help of such unfair Practices, from time to time repeated, a People fo deservedly famous for their good Nature and Generofity, could not have been induced to act as they have done, in a Manner repugnant to the first Principles of Justice and Humanity, which provide, That the oppressed should be facred from Infults, and the accus'd from Cenfure, till a regular Course of Proofs has demonstrated their Guilt: So often as it appears in our Annals, that fuch an unnatural Ferment has been rais'd, and directed to the Ruin of any particular Man, it appears to have been rais'd and directed by the fame

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Means: and that within the Compass of a very sew Years, we should twice be taken in the same Snare, is not the best Compliment to our Memories.

But I proceed now to the Particulars propounded at the Head of this Paper.

On the 17th of March the Admiral receiv'd his Commission, and took the Oaths as Admiral of the Blue: On the 20th he arriv'd at Portsmouth, and found Letters from the Board, forbidding him to meddle with any Men belonging to the Torbay, Essex, Nassau, Prince Frederick, Colchester and Greybound (all which Ships were faid to be wanted for the most pressing Service) or, if it was possible to be avoided, with any Men belonging to any other Ship in a ferviceable Condition. The fame Letters also directed him, to compleat the manning and fitting the Stirling-Castle, in Preference to any other Ship, as she also was wanted for the same most pressing Service.

On the 21st at Sun-Rising, he hoisted his Flag on Board the Ramillies: Six other Ships of his Squadron, viz. The Buckingham, Culloden,

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Culloden, Captain, Revenge, Kingston, and Desiance were at Spithead; two, the Trident and Lancaster were in the Harbour sitting for Sea; and the Intrepid was not as yet sail'd from the Nore.

For these nine Ships, seven Hundred and Twenty-three Men were wanting, of which two Hundred and Forty were short of Compliment, two Hundred and Ninety-one lent to Ships at Sea, and one Hundred and Ninety-two sick in the Hospital.

It is observable, that in the Evening of this Day he received a Letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, pressing the utmost Diligence in getting his Squadron into sailing Order, marking the Necessity of his so doing from the Necessity of the Service, which requir'd him as soon as possible in the Mediterranean, and inclosing the Reason, in an Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Bristol at Turin, to Mr. Fox, dated March the 6th, and communicating a Design of the French to make a Descent on Minorca.

To this Letter the Admiral the next Day return'd the Assurances requir'd, that he was using all possible Dispatch: Specifying, That in seven or eight Days he hoped all the Ships under his Command would be ready in every Respect, excepting Men; and accompanying this with a State of the Ships both in Portsmouth Harbour and at Spithead, that their Lordships might issue their Orders accordingly.

For, by the said State it appear'd, that over and above the ten Ships assign'd to the Admiral, there lay at Spithead, at that Instant, no less than Twelve Men of War of the Line; that is to say, the Prince of 90 Guns, the Prince George of 80, the Invincible and Torbay of 74, the Monmouth, Yarmouth, Essex, Nassau and Prince Frederick of 64, and the Nottingham and Princess Augusta of 60; to which may be added the Anson of 60, which came in three Days after, and the Fire-Brand, fire Ship.

All these Ships, it is to be observ'd, were either full mann'd, or nearly so, and sour of them were Mann'd above their Compliments. And those in the Harbour were the Royal

Ann and Duke of 90 Guns, the Barfleur of 80, the Swiftsure, Bedford, and Elizabeth of 64, the Bristol and Colchester of 50, the Romney of 40, and the Greybound, Gibraltar, Nightingale and Unicorn of 20; all of which, except the sour first were also full mann'd, or nearly so.

But the fending this List did not answer the Admiral's End; no Orders came for supplying the Defect of Men till the 25th, when the Admiral was directed to take them out of the (a) Tenders and Hospitals; and then not till the Compliment of the Stirling Castle had been compleated first; which is so much the more remarkable, as he received an Express the Day before to dispatch Mr. Keppel in the Esex and Gibraltar to Sea, as soon as possible, and to supply the said Ships with what Number of Men they wanted out of the Nassau.

To shew, however, how well their Lord-ships understood Business, and how notably

⁽a) Tenders expected to arrive from Liverpool and Ireland, two only of which arrived before the Fleet failed, the greatest Part of the Men from them put on board the Sterling Castle; the whole Number 198.

they could conduct it; on the 26th at five in the Evening it was the Admiral's Turn to receive an Express, informing him, that the Ludlow Castle was order'd to Spithead from her Cruife, with the Men borrow'd from the Ramillies; and directing him to take from aboard the Stirling-Castle the Men by former Orders shipp'd on board her out of the Tenders, together with 100 Men to be difcharg'd out of the Augusta, towards compleating the Compliments of his Squadron. He was also directed by the same Express, to distribute all the Marines he had on board among the feveral Ships at Spithead and in Portsmouth Harbour, and to receive Lord Robert Bertie's Regiment of Royal English Fuziliers in their Room. An Operation, which, together with procuring them Bedding, &c. found Employment for the Lieutenants, Boats, &c. till the 30th inclusive: And the next Day was employed in compleating the Officers, Stores, Provisions, Water, &c.---

And now April the first at ten in the Morning, the Admiral received by an Express a Letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, together with his Instructions, dated March

March the 30th, inclos'd, which the fame Secretary had on the 2.1st of the Month preceding prepar'd him to expect on the 23d following: The Letter required him, in the Name of the Board, to put to Sea with the first fair Wind, and to proceed without Loss of Time to the Mediterranean: There was also inclos'd in it, an Order for receiving on Board his Squadron Lord Robert Bertie's Regiment of Royal Fuziliers, for what Service will be explained in the Sequel: And of the faid Instructions, it will be sufficient in this Place to fay, That of all the Articles they were composed of, there is but one (regarding the Operations of the Enemy must be understood) positive; namely; That repeated by the Secretary, which required him to put to Sea as foon as possible, &c. For tho' it is admitted in the introductory Clause, That feveral Advices had been receiv'd, concerning the suppos'd Intentions of the French to attack the Island of Minorca, the next fupposes, that their real Design was to slip through the Straits of Gibraltar, and direct their Course to North America; and makes a fuitable Provision, for separating the Squadron, and fending off fuch a Part of it under Rear Admiral West, together with such a

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proportionable Number of the Soldiers on board, as, added to the Ships he was suppos'd to find there, would render him Superior to the Enemy (in which Case it is to be noted, the said Soldiers could not have serv'd in the Mediterranean at all, and for this, that a Superiority was judged to be a requisite, essential to the Service.) And all the other Articles hingeing in like manner, upon Events, were accordingly, to be observed or not, as Circumstances agreed or otherwise.

In obedience to these Instructions and Orders, therefore, he directed the Captains of his Squadron, to take on board all the Men they had in the Hospitals, sit for Service, and to discharge all the Absent, that he might know exactly the Number wanting to compleat his Compliment; which in the Evening of the same Day were found to be 336; the greatest Part of them lent to the Ludlow-Castle, (a) Hampton-Court, and Tilbury, which were still at Sea: of this Defect he sent Information at four the next Morning by Express to the Board, desiring

⁽a) The Hampton-Court then at Lifton, the Tilbury at Cork in Ireland.

their Lordships final Orders, in relation thereto, and it may be supposed he was so much the more sensible of it, because the Torbay, Essex and Gibraltar had sail'd Eastward on a Cruise the Evening before.

That Morning, however, about nine o'Clock, the Ludlow-Castle came to Spithead, and about four in the Afternoon repaid the borrow'd Men: With her also came in the Intrepid, Captain Young, having 261 Supernumeraries on board, but then 156 of these were wanting to make up the Compliment of that very Ship: So that there was still a Necessity to take 30 from the Stirling-Castle, and 70 Supernumeraries from the Cambridge, notwithstanding he had taken 43 from the Colchester and Romney before; which, without an Order from above, was done accordingly.

By these Shifts and in this precarious Manner, by the 3d of April, while the Squadron was getting under Sail in order to repair to St. Helens, the Deficience of Men was supply'd: But then it ought not to be forgot, that Captain Young, upon receiving Orders the Day before to put himself under the

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Admiral's Command, and to receive on board the only Company of Lord Robert Bertie's Regiment, not yet embark'd, waited upon him, with a Representation, That the Intrepid was not fit for a foreign Voyage, having made so much Water in her Passage from the Nore to Spithead, though her Ports were caulk'd in, that he was forc'd to scuttle the lower Deck, and let the Water down, in order to have it pump'd out: That he had receiv'd no Notice of his being destin'd for any such Voyage, and that he had neither Water, Provisions, or Stores for it.

This was as bad News for the Admiral as for him: However, as there was now no Remedy, on the 4th all the long Boats with an Officer in each, were order'd to repair to Spithead with empty Water Casks from the Intrepid, there to exchange them with the different Ships, for full ones; and in the mean while, her own Officers and Boats were employed in procuring and taking in the necessary Stores, Provisions, &c.

The next Day, the Admiral having iffued out the Line of Battle-Signals, made the the Signal at 11 o'Clock to weigh, and stood to Sea, but was forc'd by the Tide of Ebb, accompany'd with a Calm, to anchor again at three in the Afternoon.

I had almost forgot to specify, that on the and of March in the Asternoon, the Admiral receiv'd a List from the Admiralty, of thirty Officers, including two Colonels, order'd to their Posts at Minorca, together with thirty-two Recruits and eight Deserters; and of sixteen Officers, one Corporal, two private Men, and thirty-eight Recruits for Gibraltar; together with Orders to take them on board; which was done accordingly, as sast as they arriv'd; and that was not the Case with some of them till the Fleet was actually under sail.

And to this Recollection, I must also beg Leave to add another; namely, that the Admiral having, March 24, apply'd by Letter to the Board for an additional Frigate to repeat Signals, in case of coming to Action with the Enemy in his Passage out, he was never favour'd with any Answer to that Paragraph.

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With the Squadron already particularis'd, then, on the 6th of April, he again put to Sea, palpably as foon as it was possible for him to do so, and after a tedious Voyage, occafion'd as well by Calms, as contrary Winds, arriv'd at Gibraltar, May the 2d.

What necessity for being thus circumflantial will be shewn in its Place.

And, as Premisses never to be lost Sight of, it is here to be observed, That as the Admiral's Instructions were, in general, founded on a Persuasion, that the French Armament at Toulon, was destined to North-America, so it was declared with the utmost Considence, by those who ought to have known better, that, for want of Seamen, six or eight Ships of the Line at most, was the greatest Number the Enemy could possibly put to Sea from that Port.

For hence it is apparent, First, That we had either no true Intelligence at Home of what was really in Agitation at Toulon, or that we gave no Credit to it. Secondly, That Instructions unprecise in their Nature, because founded on Mistakes and Uncertainties,

tainties, accompany'd with Orders yet more unprecise and embarrassing, (as having nothing clear in them, but the Negligence or Ignorance of the Writers) could not but be productive of Perplexities and Difficulties in every Question they gave Rise to, consequently of Snares and Dangers in every Resolution taken upon them. Thirdly, That from the very different Aspect of Things on the Admiral's arrival at Gibraltar, from that which they had been made to wear in England, a Difference of Conduct became absolutely necessary; and thence-forward, he was either to proceed discretionally, or not to proceed at all.

Instead of six or eight Men of War of the Line, he was informed the Enemy had put to Sea on the 13th of April; N. B. (just a Week after the Admiral set sail from St. Hellens) with a Squadron of twelve Ships from sixty to eighty Guns; sive Frigates from twenty to sifty; two Xebeques of eighteen, sour Gallies, two Galliots, sour Bombs, escorting 233 transports, with 18000 soldiers on Board, and 50 vessels freighted with Cattle, Stores, &c. And that instead of steering for North-America.

America, they had not only made a Descent on Minorca, but were moreover in actual Possession of the Whole Island, Fort St. Philip excepted.

I say then with this Difference in the real State, as well as the Aspect of Things, surely the most partial or violent Man in Britain, will not take upon him to insist, that the Admiral ought to have gone in immediate Quest of an Enemy so much his Superior in Point of Strength, for the mere Vanity of such a desperate Attempt! Surely the Difference between Brutality and Bravery is better understood amongst us; and none but the very, very Vulgar, are subject to that groundless Notion, That it is a Fundamental in the Navy-Discipline, for every English ship to engage two of the same Force of any other Nation!

And let none of these partial or violent Persons exult too hastily, because I have not as yet brought Commodore Edgecumbe's little Squadron to account.

So much in the Dark as we manifestly were with regard to the Motions and Defigns

figns of the Enemy, and so much astonish'd and surpriz'd as we were known to be, when Day-light unawares broke in upon us; we have no Right to reckon on any one of the Ships that compos'd it. It is, besides, notorious, that they were all in the Enemy's Power; and that they did not actually fall into their Hand, was owing only to want of due Intelligence on their Side, and due Precautions to supply the Desect of it, which also contains a Brief of our own unhappy Case, with respect to Minorca.

Some little Reserve of good Fortune, then, is all the Merit we can pretend to on that Account: And when we farther see in what a Condition those Ships fell under the Admiral's Command, we shall find it was more owing to his good Conduct, than to any Foresight any where else, that they were at last render'd serviceable. — Which brings us to the Consideration of what passed on the Admiral's arrival at Gibraltar.

It was then from Mr. Edgecumbe himfelf, whom he found at Gibraltar, with D the Deptford, Princess Louisa, and Fortune Sloop, part of his Squadron, that he receiv'd the Information cited above: And having now, for the first Time, one pofitive Fact to reason upon, to wit, that Fort St. Philip was actually befieged, with a great Force compleatly furnished with all Manner of Ammunition and Provision, and the Siege cover'd with a Squadron abundantly stronger and better appointed, than had enter'd into any of the Supposers Heads to suppose possible, who dictated his Orders: it must be understood his first Concern was to confider, how he was best to conduct himself in Conformity to those Orders.

The American 1F stated in the second Clause, as the Point of most Probability, with Respect to the Design of the French Armament, and yet again recurr'd to, and implicated in the third, was now out of the Question; as was also another in the same Clause, 1F the French were still inactive in Port, in which Case he was to station his Squadron, (still suppos'd all-sufficient) in the best Manner to prevent their getting out: And he was now to use all tossible

possible Means in his Power (the learned and able Secretary is to be answerable for this Tautology) for the Relief of the Place, taking proper Care, nevertheless, to exert his utmost Vigilance to protect Gibraltar from any hostile Attempt; which is not only understood, but expressed in his Orders; as also to protect the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects, and to annoy the Enemy wherever they might be found within the * Limits of his Command; with an Exception, however, to the Ports of the Ottoman Empire, which was with the utmost Circumspection guarded against.

And now what his Conduct really was, we shall endeayour to shew.

As foon as he had received from Commodore Edgecumbe the Information specified above, which was the Day of his Arrival, he issued immediate Orders, for all the Ships of his Squadron to compleat their

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^{*} It feems his Orders did not impower him to attack the Enemy, even if he met them, without the Limits of his Command, as War was not then declared.

Provisions and Water with the utmost Expedition.

On the third he went on Shore to communicate to the Governor of Gibraltar his Orders in relation to a Battallion, to be detach'd from the Garrison, and to be embark'd on Board the Squadron for the Relief of Fort St. Philip.

The Governor had also Orders delivered to him from the War Office; which, it feems, were to have been of the fame Tendency, whether in Fact they were fo or not: But, waving that Point for a Moment, new Matter in Abundance having arisen, which had not been so much as fuppos'd at the Time of Penning them, and fuch as had been productive of Difficulties, hardly if at all to be furmounted, it was thought proper, in the first Place, to take the Opinion of the Engineers best acquainted with the Works of Fort St. Philip (the principal of whom had not only been in Service there, but when at Home, had been promoted to the Post he then held, on the Merit of bringing Home a Model of the Place) concerning the Possibility or ProProbability of relieving the same, and they gave it under their Hands the same Day, That all Circumstances considered, it appear'd to them extremely dangerous, if not impracticable, to throw Succour into it.

This Opinion of the Engineers was moreover submitted on the Morrow, to a Council of War, compos'd of the Governor and all the Field Officers of the Garrison assembled, to take into Consideration the several Orders above acceded to.

And by the Way, tho' much has already been said of those from the War Office to General Fowke, and more of the Usage they have unhappily expos'd him to, it is hop'd the public will forgive a short Interjection in the Shape of Queries on the same Subject, which may possibly serve to throw some additional Light upon it. To wit.

Whether the Land and Sea fervice, are not distinct from and independent of each other? Whether they are not accordingly under the Direction of distinct Offices and Officers? Whether those employ'd in either of

the said Services, are Subject to any Orders, but fuch as are address'd to them through the proper Office they belong to? Whether for Example, an Order from the Secretary at War, can be understood to be of Authority to the Fleet, and vice versa from the Admiralty Board to the Army? Whether when both Offices are to co-operate in the fame Service, the Orders given by both, ought not to correspond exactly in every Circumstance? Whether, in case of reciprocal Ignorance in each Office as to what is doing in the other, this necessary Co-operation might not be obtain'd, if the Secretary of State was in the Secret of both, as he ought to be, and was to give his Instructions accordingly? And lastly, When the Orders in relation to the same Service issued from both. instead of corresponding as above required, happen to be irreconcilable, whether the Land-officers are not to be justify'd, in adhering to those of the War Office, and the Sea Officers to those of the Admiralty?

And now having put these Questions which answer themselves, what is to follow is an Abstract of the two Commands. Videlicet. In the first Paragraph of Lord

Barrington's first Letter to the General, dated March 21, 1756, it is faid, The King has order'd the Royal Regiment of Fuziliers to embark immediately for Gibraltar, and that upon their arrival he is to make a Detachment from the four Regiments then in Garrison to Minorca: Which implies furely, That if the Detachment was to go, the Regiment was to stay. But, as if for fear this should not be plain enough, the next Paragraph is express, That together with the Recruits for the Corps in his Garrison, the faid Regiment was to be disembark'd, and quarter'd in the Garrison under his Command: Upon which faid Difembarkation, he the faid General, in obedience to his Majesty's further Pleasure, was to cause a Detachment, equal to a Batallion on the present British Establishment, to embark for Minorca. The next, without the least Reference to or Repeal of any Part of the former, reiterates the Order for causing a Batallion to embark on board his Majesty's Fleet for the Relief of the Island of Minorca, in case there should be any likelihood of its being attack'd. And the third, of April 1st, only directs him to receive fuch Women and Children belonging to the Royal Regiment of Fuziliers,

as Admiral Byng should think fit to land there: fuch is the War Office Language: And now what it ought to have been, we are to learn it feems, from that made use of by the Lords of the Admiralty in their additional Instructions to Mr. Byng of March 31. For therein it is not only fignified, That the King had been pleas'd to direct, that the Royal Regiment of Fuziliers should serve on Board his Majesty's Ships in the Mediterranean, and also be landed at Minorca in Cafe the faid Island was attack'd, and upon a Consultation with General Blakeney, it should be found necessary; but, moreover, that the Governor of Gibraltar had Orders (which we have feen he had not) to make a Detachment equal to a Batallion from his Garrison, in Case of a like Necessity for a further Reinforcement: And this Detachment, together with the faid Regiment, the Admiral was required to land at Minorca under the Restrictions before specify'd, together with what other Affistance of Gunners and Men his Ships could possibly spare.

On the fourth of May the Council of War sat on these several Orders, together with

with the written Opinion of the Engineers, and the Situation of his Majesty's Garrisons and Forces in the Mediterranean; on a full Confideration of which, they were humbly of Opinion, that the fending the faid Detachment would evidently weaken the Garrison of Gibraltar; and be no way effectual for the Relief of Minorca: Affigning for the Grounds and Reasons of this Opinion, That of the Engineers already mention'd, touching the Impracticability of introducing any Succours into the Place, the Infufficiency of the Number propos'd, if introduc'd for the Defence and Preservation of the Island in its present Condition, which feem'd to be the Scope and Meaning of the Letters and Orders before them: And the Imprudence of weakening the Garrison of Gibraltar, unnecessarily risking the Loss of an additional Number of his Majesty's Troops, without any reafonable Prospect or Hope of being of any Affistance to Minorca. To which was added the following Reason; which it will be expedient to give in their own Words. To wit.

[&]quot;Because the Toulon Squadron, by the best Accounts the Council have receiv'd, is at least equal in Force, if not Superior

to that under Admiral Byng: And should the British Fleet be any way weaken'd by any Engagement, or any other Accident, the Garrison of Gibraltar would be expos'd to imminent Danger; and as the Garrison stands at present, it is not more than sufficient to the common Duty of the Garrison."

But the 'they were induc'd by these Considerations not to go the Lengths indeterminately requir'd, which would have expos'd one Place, without preferving the other, they difcover'd a Disposition to do whatever could be prudently done for the Good of the Service. Captain Edgecumbe, before his Departure from Fort St. Philip, had put on Shore all the Soldiers and Marines he had on Board his Ships, together with a confiderable Number of Seamen, to make fome fmall Addition to a Garrison notoriously deficient, and for at least prolong the Defence of the Place; by which means, however, his Ships were left so thinly mann'd, that in case of an Engagement, no Service could have been expected from them. To remedy this Defect and enable these Ships to proceed to Sea, the Admiral apply'd to General Fowke for fuch

fuch a Detachment out of his Garrison as he could spare; and with the Approbation of the same Council of War, the General did accordingly surnish him, with one Captain, six Subalterns, nine Serjeants, eleven Corporals, sive Drums, and two hundred thirty-sive private Men: in all two hundred sixty-seven.

It was not, however, till the 6th, that he receiv'd a List of these from the Governor: and the very next Day also the Experiment join'd his Squadron, as the Portland and Dolphin had done two Days before: And now having dispatch'd two Expresses to England; that is to fay, one on the 4th by the Way of Madrid; and a Duplicate of the fame on the 7th by Lieutenant O'Hara, in the Lovel Packet; and having also done his best to supply all the Wants of his Squadron, on the 8th in the Morning he fet fail, tho' the Wind was Easterly, and before his Ships were full water'd, which was owing not to any Neglect imputable either to Officers or Seamen, but the small Quantity of Water fupply'd by the Springs themselves.

The Winds proving variable, and often interrupted by Calms, it was the 16th before

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the Squadron could get up as far as Palma, the Capital of Majorca; and here the Admiral thought fit to fend the Experiment to that Port, with a Letter to the Conful for what Intelligence he could supply him with; about which Time, a Ship close in with the Shore (discover'd afterwards to be the Gracieule, a Frigate of thirty Guns; that, together with another Ship, suppos'd to be the Amphion of fifty, which quitted that Station the Day before, had cruiz'd off of that Port, and kept in the Planix for near three Weeks) was observ'd to stand away to the Eastward, with a fine Breefe, whilft the Squadron in the Offing was in a Manner becalm'd: And the next Day in the Afternoon, the Experiment rejoin'd the Squadron, (which was standing to the Eastward) with the Phanix in Company, which last brought the Admiral some Intelligence of the Quantity of Cannon, Ammunition, and Provision, landed at Minorca by the Enemy, as also of their Manner of landing, and of treating the Inhabitants.

The Wind still continued Easterly, until the 18th at nine in the Evening, when a fine Breeze Breeze sprung up Northerly, and the Fleet sailed large all Night.

The 10th at Day break, the Squadron being off the Coast of Minorca, about five o'Clock in the Morning, the Admiral fent the Phanix, Captain Hervey, with the Chesterfield and Dolphin, Captain Lloyd, and Captain Marlow, a Head of the Fleet, to reconnoitre as closely as possible, the Harbour's Mouth, and the Situation both of the Enemy and their Batteries, as also to observe whether it was practicable, and where to throw any Succours into the Caftle, to look out for the French Squadron, and to pick up if posiible any of their small Crast, in order to procure Intelligence; in relation to all which Purposes, proper Signals were appointed for the Admiral's Information.

Captain Hervey was also charged with the following Letter from the Admiral to General Blakeney.

Ramillies

Ramillies off Minorca, May 19, 1756.

SIR,

" Send you this by Captain Hervey of his Majesty's Ship Phænix, who has my Orders to convey it to you if possible, together with the inclosed Packet, which he received at Legborn.

- "I am extremely concerned to find that "Captain Edgcumbe has been obliged to retire to Gibraltar with the Ships under his "Command, and that the French are landed, and St. Philip's Castle is invested; as "I flatter myself had I fortunately been "more timely in the Mediterranean, that I "should have been able to have prevented the Enemy's getting a footing on the "Island of Minorca.
- " I am to acquaint you that General Stu" art, Lord Effingham and Colonel Cornwal" lis, with about thirty Officers and some
 " Recruits belonging to the different Regi" ments now in Garrison with you, are on
 " board the Ships of the Squadron, and shall
 " be glad to know by the Return of the Of" ficer,

ficer, what Place you will think proper to have them landed at.

" The Royal Regiment of English Fuzi-" liers, commanded by Lord Robert Bertie, " is likewise on Board the Squadron destin-" ed, agreeable to my Orders, to ferve on " Board the Fleet in the Mediterranean, un-" less it should be thought necessary upon " Consultation with you to land the Regi-" ment for the Defence of Minorca; but I " must also inform you, should the Fuziliers " be landed, as they are Part of the Ships "Compliments; 'the Marines having been " ordered by the Lords Commissioners of " the Admiralty on Board of other Ships at " Portsmouth, to make Room for them, that " it will disable the Squadron from act-" ing against that of the Enemy, which I am " informed is cruifing off the Island; however " I shall gladly embrace every Opportunity " of promoting his Majesty's Service in the " most effectual Manner, and shall assist you "to distress the Enemy, and defeat their " Deligns to the utmost of my Power."

"Please to favour me with Information how I can be most effectual of Service to

" you and the Garrison; and believe me to be, with great Truth and Esteem,

SIR,

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

J. B.

Captain Hervey's Orders were to deliver this Letter if possible to the General, and as with a View to some such Service as this, a private Signal had been agreed upon between him and Captain Scroope of the Dolphin, who was in the Castle, and had kept his Boat, in order to come off upon Occasion, it was understood the said Letter would be delivered accordingly.

The Frigates thus dispatch'd with a fresh Gale Northerly, got round a small Island call'd the Laire of Mahon, about half an Hour before nine o'Clock, and when under the Land, sell into light Airs of Wind and Calms, but nevertheless, continued to make the best of their Way for the Harbour's Mouth.

About an Hour after the Squadron also got

round the said Island, with a fresh Gale; and when within two or three Miles of St. Philip's Castle, (which was full in sight, with the French Colours slying before it at a small Distance, and both Sides at Intervals exchanging Shots as well as Shells) sell in as the Frigates had done before, with light Breezes and Calms:

And now it was that Capt. Hervey in the Phanix still standing on for the Harbour's Mouth, made his private signals, but without the desir'd Success: No Answer was made: No Boat came off: And the Enemy's Squadron appearing at the same Time in the S. E. Quarter, the Admiral call'd in his Frigates, bore away for the Enemy, and made the general Signal to chase.

Both Squadrons made Sall towards each other, and about two in the Afternoon, the Admiral made the Signal for the Line of Battle a Head, which for want of sufficient Wind, could not be form'd so properly as it ought to have been. His next Care was to surnish such of his Ships as were sickly, and ill mann'd (which was the Case of several) with Seamen from the Frigates—

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Thus he order 'd 30 Men out of the Phæniæ into the Revenge, and 20 into the Deptford; 40 out of the Experiment into the Captain, and 20 into the Lancaster, and out of the Dolphin 20 to the Intrepid, 20 to the Defiance, and 17 to the Portland.

Upon Captain Hervey's Representation, that there were proper Materials on Board the Phænix (long ago reported Home unfit for Service) to convert her into a Fire-Ship, he iffued Orders accordingly; under such Restrictions, nevertheless, as should not prejudice the Ship, in case she was not made use of in the Manner intended, to board, and burn any Ship of the Enemy's Squadron, that might happen to be disabled.

These Measures having been thus taken, a fine Breeze sprung up about seven in the Evening, and brought the two Squadrons within about two Leagues of each other; when almost at the same Instant both tack'd, no doubt, for the same Reasons, Namely, To avoid the Consusion of a Night-Engagement; as also, the English to gain, and the French to keep the Weather-Gage, which the Wind and the Situation

of the two Squadrons, had, at that Time, given them Possession of.

Night now came on, and the Wind freshening, the Admiral stood in towards the Shore, till half an hour after eleven, when he made the Signal for Tacking, and then taking advantage of the Wind from the Shore, stood off for the Remainder of the Night.

On the 20th, the Morning proving hazy, the Enemy were not to be seen; and two of their Tartans, falling in with our Rear by Mistake; one of them (having on Board upwards of 100 Soldiers, Part of 600, embarked from the Enemy's Camp the Day before to re-inforce the Fleet) was taken by the Defiance.

About seven, however, the Enemy were descry'd to the South-East, and the Admiral made the Signal for calling in his Cruizers; repeating it with several Guns at a small Distance of Time from each other, till it had been seen and observ'd by all of them.

About ten he tack'd, and flood towards

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the Enemy; and having by the Dint of Seamanship, not only kept the Wind against all the Efforts of the French Commander to weather him, but form'd as compleat a Line as could be form'd, began the Attack, which the Enemy lay to, to receive. The Particulars of what followed cannot be expected here. The Admiral has now more dangerous Enemies to combat with, than he had then. And for the fake of a compleat Narrative, must not throw away the Materials of his Defence. --- When the proper Time comes, every Man that is open to Conviction, will be convinced, that he acted in all Respects suitably to the great Trust repos'd in him; that without impairing the Honour, he never once lost Sight of the real Interest of his Country; --- That in every Order he gave, he made the best Use that he could possibly make of his Understanding ;---That even what feems to be fo inexplicable, with Regard to his ordering the Deptford out of the Line, will receive the most clear and satisfactory Explanation; ---- That the odious Imputations thrown on his personal Behaviour, are as groundless as wicked; ---- That he had, indeed the Pleasure to see the Enemy give Way to the Impressions made upon them.---

them; ---- And that nothing could equal his Mortification in not being in a Condition to follow them.

What his Condition really was, and what the Condition of the Mediterranean Service in general, he was now fadly fenfible. " Instead of encountering fix or seven Ships at most, he had met with twelve," far superior in Strengh, far better mann'd, and far better Sailors than his own. ---- Thefe had fuffered less in the Engagement, could be supply'd perpetually with fresh Men from the Camp on Shore, as had already been the Case; were near their own Ports; could return to the Charge with these Advantages whenever they pleas'd, and if they pleas'd to retreat could not be overtaken .--- His own Ships, on the contrary, such at least as had borne the Brunt of the Action, had suftained more Damage, than could eafily be repair'd. The Intrepid from the very beginning, was not fit for the Service she had been allotted to, on the Evidence of her own Commander*: the Portland had not been cleaned for upwards of ten Months,

^{*} See the Admiral's first Letter to the Admiralty Board, already publish'd.

nor the Chestersield for twelve: And as to the Careening-wharfs, Store-houses, Pits, &c. at Gibraltar, they were entirely decay'd.-The Wounded were now moreover to be added to the Sick; and no Hospital Ship had been appointed for the Reception of either .--- And as to the Relief of Minorca, he had neither the Battallion on Board; which was to have been fent on that Service; nor could he have spared the Fuziliers, if they had been a Number sufficient for it, which it is notorious they were not, without exposing the Squadron to utter Perdition, either in the Attempt to land them, if it could have been made, or in venturing on a fecond Engagement without their Affistance.

That however he might not rely on his own Judgment merely, as foon as he had taken the proper Measures to cover the crippled Ships, as also to repair and resit them, as well as it could then be done; he called a Council of War on Board the Ramillies; the Result of which is here submitted to the impartial World.

[39]

At a Council of War assembled, and held on Board his Majesty's Ship the Ramillies, at Sea. on Monday the 24th of May, 1756.

PRESENT.

The Hon. JOHN BYNG, Esq; Admiral of the Blue.

Major General Stuart Temple West, Esq; rear Capt. Henry Ward Ad. of the Red Hon. Edw. Cornwallis Capt. Philip Durell Capt. Cha. Catford Capt. James Young Hon. Geo. Edgcumbe Capt. Fred. Cornwall Capt: John Amherst Capt. William Parry Rt. Hon. Earl of Ef- Capt. Arthur Gardiner Hon. Augs. Jo. Hervey fingham Capt. William Lloyd Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Bertie

Having read to the Council of War the Opinion of the Engineers, in Regard to throwing in Succours in the Castle of St. Philips, the Refult of a Council of War held by General Fowke at Gibraltar, with Regard to embarking a Detachment on Board the Fleet; likewife Admiral Byng's Instructions for his Proceedings in the Mediterranean; likewise the Order with Regard gard to the Disposal of the Regiment of Fuzziliers, commanded by the Right Honour able Lord Robert Bertie, and the Defects of the Ships which received Damage in the Action with the French Squadron, the 20th Instant; as also having laid before the Council the State of the Sick, and wounded Men on Board the Ships of the Fleet, propos'd to the Council the following Questions, viz.

1. Whether an Attack upon the French Fleet, gives any Prospect of relieving Minorca?

Unanimously resolved that it would not.

2. Whether, if there was no French Fleet cruifing off Minorca, the English Fleet could raise the Siege?

Unanimously of Opinion that the Fleet could not.

3. Whether Gibraltar would not be in Danger, by any Accident that might befal this Fleet?

Unanimously agreed that it would be in Danger.

4. Whe-

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4. Whether an Attack with our Fleet in the present State of it upon that of the French, will not endanger the Sasety of Gibraltar, and expose the Trade of the Mediterranean to great Hazard?

Unanimously agreed that it would.

5. Whether it is not most for his Majesty's Service that the Fleet should immediately proceed for Gibraltar?

We are unanimously of Opinion, that the Fleet should immediately proceed for Gibraltar.

J. Byng Ja. Stuart Temple West Henry Ward Phil. Durell Edward Cornwallis Ja. Young
Cha. Catford
Fred. Cornewall
Geo. Edgcumbe
William Parry
John Amherst
Arthur Gardiner
Essingham
A. Hervey
Mich. Everitt
William Lloyd
Robert Bertie.

Here then we have Authority as well as Reason, to justify the Admiral's Conduct in every Particular; and at any other Period but this, the unanimous Suffrages of so many Persons of distinguish'd Worth and Honour, would have commanded an universal Acquiescence. But so graceless and shameless are the Times we live in, that Endeavours have been used, even to blast this very Authority, by the Means of a wicked Infinuation, that it was more owing to the ill Opinion entertain'd of the Admiral, than their Conviction of the ill-State of our Affairs: As if it was possible for any such Number of Men to concur in a Prevarication of fo infamous a Nature: Namely, to fet their Hands to a Paper of fuch Importance, avowing one Motive, and guided by another.

But to proceed. Agreeable to the last Resolution of the Council of War, the Fleet stood to the Westward in the Asternoon, and after a tedious Passage, (occasion'd partly by contrary Winds, and partly by the Tardiness of the crippled Ships, one of which, the *Intrepid*, was sometimes forc'd to be taken in tow) arriv'd at *Gibraltar* on the 19th.

Here

Here the Admiral found Commodore Broderick, who had arriv'd four Days before with five Line of Battle Ships from England; (which by the way shew'd, that even the very Cabinet was at last convinc'd of the Necessity of such a Re-inforcement; as a Means to transfer that Superiority to us, which till then had been on the Enemy's Side;) and it is to be observed, notwithstanding what has been given out, that the necessity of re-inforcing Admiral Byng, was known soon after his sailing from England, if not before, as may be seen by the Secretary of the Admiralty's Letter to him by Mr. Broderick*; and it is

* Admirally Office, May 21, 1756.

Sir,

"My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having received certain Intelligence, that the French are fitting out
more Ships at Toulon, they have thought proper to re-inforce
the Squadron under your Command with the Ships named

"in the Margin +, by whom *his is fent to you.

"These Ships carry out a Regiment of Soldiers, and will probably take more on Board at Gibraltar if they can be

" spared.

I am, SIR,
Your most humble Serwant,
I. C——D.

Hon. Admiral Byng, Mediterranean,

Receiv'd by Captain Broderick on the Arrival of the Fleet at Gibraltar, the 19th June, 1756.

† Prince George of 80 Guns, Hampton-Court, Ipfwich, and Naflau of 64 Guns each, and the Isis of 50 Guns.

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indubitable, that Mr. Broderick received his Orders*, and failed before there was a possibility of receiving any Letters from Admiral Byng, or any authentic Intelligence relating to his Squadron; though too late to enable the Admiral to answer the supposed Design of the Expedition; and it is likewise absolutely certain, that those very five Ships failing with the Squadron under his Command, instead of following him too late, would have rendered the Superiority in those Seas indisputable. The French Admiral, who knew exactly his Force, would not then have dared to keep the Sea and wait for him.

The Admiral mindful of the Promise he had made to the Board, in one of the fup-press'd Passages of his Letter, after the Action, "not to lose a Moment's Time in case he found Stores to resit with, and a Re-inforcement at Gibraltar, before he fought the Enemy again, and once more gave them Battle;" his first Care was to order the Sick Men of the Fleet, amounting to near 1000, into the Hospital; after which he issued the following Orders. To wit.

^{*} His Orders dated the 17th of May.

To all the Captains to refit their Ships for the Sea, with all possible Expedition.

To compleat their Water, having fent some Ships to Tetuan for the sake of Dispatch.

To fend a-shore as many Carpenters and Sail-Makers, as they could possibly spare from every Ship, to assist the Master Ship-Wright and Store-keeper in carrying on the Service of the Fleet.

To the Captains of Mr. Broderick's Squadron, as they were ready for Sea, to fend afhore from each Ship, one Officer, and two petty Officers, with 50 Men, every Morning at Day-light, to affift in furveying the Stores, and felecting such as were fit for Service; as also to make a Report of their Progress every Evening.

To the Master Ship-Wright of Gibraltar, together with some Carpenters of the Fleet, to survey the Ships which had received Damage, and to make Report of their Defects.

To the Carpenter of the Ramillies to act as Assistant to the Master Ship-Wright in refitting fitting the Ships which had been damaged in the late Action.

And lastly, to the Agent Victualler, to compleat all the Ships to 70 Days Wine, three Months dry Provisions, four Months Beef and Pork, and to procure fresh Beef for the Seamen while in Port.

All these several Duties and Services were profecuted with the utmost Diligence, till July the first, when the Fleet being nearly ready for the Sea, excepting the Portland, reported on a Survey unfit for Service, till careen'd, and the Intrepid, still in the New Mole, and in no great likelihood of being rendered fit for Service, Time enough to fail with the Fleet, the Admiral came to a Refolution to put to Sea on the 6th following, in quest of the Enemy, and to attempt the Relief of Fort St. Philip, which according to the Intelligence he had receiv'd, still continued to hold out: And whereas most of the Sick-feamen were still in the Hospital, incapable of Service; he proposed to supply that Defect as well as he could, out of the Companies of the Portland and Intrepid, and by unmanning feveral of the Frigates, which

were

were to have been left behind: As also to apply to the Governor of Gibraltar for two Detachments of Soldiers, each equal to a Battallion, as specify'd in Mr. Broderick's Orders, which now could have been spar'd; seeing the Garrison had already been re-inforc'd with one Regiment brought on Board his Squadron, and two more were daily expected from England.

But these Resolutions of his, he was not permitted to have the Honour of carrying into Execution: For on the 2d of July arrived Sir Edward Hawke in the Antelope, with the Orders to supersede him, which were executed the same Day in the Manner already communicated to the Public.

And now having given a Sketch of the Admiral's Conduct, from the Day his Commission was bestow'd on him, to the Day he was depriv'd of it; with an Exception to one very short Interval; another Sketch of the Returns he has met with at Home would make the most proper Companion for it: But as something of this Nature has already been done from sufficient Authorities in a late Pamphlet, call'd, A Letter to a Member of

Parliament in the Country, relative to the Case of Admiral Byng, certain suplemental Touches will serve the Purpose as well; and even these need only be thrown in, partly to fortify the Opinion which is gaining Ground every Hour, That both the Admiral and his Fellow-sufferer G - F have been thus severely dealt with, not so much for any Miscarriage of their own, as to throw a Mist over the Miscarriages of others, and partly to throw a little farther Light on the Origin of the whole Procedure.

And first, as to the Origin; we ought to take shame to ourselves, for having been so long hunting for it, in the Actions of the two Parties, and to the no small Entertainment, no doubt, of those in the Cabal; when the Truth is, that it can be found only in their Words.

In the Council of War, for Example, held at Gibraltar, May 4, a Mischief-making Paragraph was inserted, importing, That tho' the Detachment under Consideration, to be sent by Way of Succour to the Besieged at Minorca, was not likely at that Time to produce any Effect, yet it might have been

of great Service, had it been landed there before the Island was actually attack'd; and if
a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships had been
there, to co-operate with the Troops in its
Defence and Preservation: And again, the
Admiral in his Dispatch to the Secretary of
the Admiralty of the same Date from the
same Place, is also unguarded enough to say,
"If I had been so happy to have arriv'd at
Mabon before the French had landed, I statter myself I should have been able to have
prevented their setting a foot on that Island:
But as it has so unfortunately turn'd out, &c.

In both these Paragraphs, those in the first Digestion of Business are by Inference made answerable for all Miscarriages and Missortunes; and from the Moment their Penetration had made a Shift to keep them to this Discovery, they apparently resolved to make use of all the Arts of Recrimination, accompany'd with all the Weight of their Power and Influence.

Then as to the Proofs of such a Procedure, this opening is no sooner made, than like Water they flow in of themselves.

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It is not usual to take the Enemy's Word for their own Feats and Performances; because notorious that the Bias of the Story will ever be in their own Favour. And it is certain there is not a Precedent in History to be found of any Process of any Kind, founded upon fuch Evidence. — But in this Cafe the Confederates, (not to give them a more fevere Appellation,) no fooner receive an Extract of the Enemy's Account, pass'd thro' the Hands of one frenchified foreign Minifter abroad, to another frenchified foreign Minister at home, un-authenticated in any Manner whatfoever, than, without waiting for the Advices they could not but expect from their own Commander in chief, they not only take the whole upon content, in the worst Construction the Words would bear, but alfo by grafting the fuperceding Orders upon it, ratify as far as in them lay, the Infult therein offer'd to the Glory of the Nation; to fay nothing of the atrocious Injury done to the Officers fo superfeded.

A Fact incapable of Aggravation; and what will put to the Stretch, the Faith of Posterity to believe; and yet so it is, that June the Sth, but nineteen Days after the

Action, one Mr. Clevland, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the Name of a good and gracious King, and by Order of their Lordships, thus writes to the Admiral; "I am commanded by my "Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to "fend you herewith, an Extract of M. Ga-"lissoniere's Letter to his Court, giving an "Account of the Action, and to acquaint you, that his Majesty is so much distaissied with your Conduct, that he has order'd their Lordships to recall yourself and Mr West, and to send out Sir Edward "Hawke, and Rear Admiral Saunders, to "command the Squadron."

It is to be observed, that the Extract thus inclos'd was not in the Original French, but an Office Translation; and yet these are the most material Articles of it. "The Engagement lasted about three Hours and a Half, or four Hours; but was not general during ing all that Time; the English Ships that had suffered most from our Broad-sides, having got to the Windward out of the Reach of the Cannon.

They have always preferv'd this Ad-

vantage not to engage, and after having made their greatest Efforts against our Rear, which they found so close, and from which they receiv'd so great a Fire, as not to be able to break it; they resolv'd to retire, and appear'd no more on the 21st."

The Amount of which is plainly this; That the French kept on the Defensive only; That in owning their Rear was exposed to the Efforts of the English, they own they retreated before them, and that if the English did not break them, it was for want of sufficient Strength, not of Courage; which, with an Exception to one Circumstance, That they out-sail'd us, corresponds in the Main with our Admiral's own Account, and actually justifies his Conduct without impeaching his Bravery.

But indeed if the Credit of France had ever obtained such a Sanction from her Enemies before, neither this or any other Nation would have had one Victory to boast of against her; or a Commander for such a Service to reward: It is a Rule of theirs to be ever victorious; and a Variety of Proofs may

be produced of annual Te Deums sung for annual Deseats.

In the Case of the great Battle fought off of Malaga, in the Year 1704, between the confederate Fleet under Sir George Rooke, and that of France, under the Count de Toulouse, Louis XIV. in his Royal Capacity, ascribes the Victory, notwithstanding a great Superiority in Number, and the Advantage of the Wind on the Enemy's Side, to his own Fleet, and enjoins a Te Deum to be fung accordingly; and yet so little Regard was paid to his Ipse dixit here at home, that instead of fuperceding, difgracing, imprisoning and making a public Victim of Rooke, he was complimented by the House of Commons. in their Address to the Queen, as deserving almost as much of his Country for that Year's Service, as the great Duke of Marlborough, who had just won the Battle of Blenheim.

There is no need of adding any Thing more on this Topic; every *Englishman*'s Indignation will supply the rest.

It has been observ'd, That this unprecedented Order sent by one Admiral to black-

en and ruin another, was dated June the 8th, and it follows of Courfe, that having once ventur'd to strike so bold a Stroke, the Confederates were under a Necessity of taking every Measure possible, to keep themselves in Countenance for having done fo: when therefore, the Admiral's Account came to Hand, which set Matters in so very different a Light, it was incumbent on them to expunge every Paffage, which could either help to undeceive the Public in Respect to the Conduct of the Admiral, or to expose (though innocently on his Part) their own: And as those Pasfages are now in Print, and can and will be prov'd to be genuine, it must be selfevident to every Man, who reads them, that they could be expung'd for no other Reason.

Having already proceeded against him as a beaten Coward, they could not bear he should ever so modestly claim a Victory; much less produce the Proofs; his lying to, to resit, for three Days together, often in Sight of Minorca, and of the Enemy's Fleet. Fore-seeing when too late, that the Island would be lost, they resolv'd to place the Loss to his Account,----knowing Gibraltar had

had been taken no * better Care of. They would not suffer him to derive any Merit from covering it. ---- Willing to allow a Council of War had been held upon the prefent Situation, they would by no means have it understood, that it was the present Situation of Minorca and Gibraltar, about which not the least Doubt or Contention arose.— And sensible of what Importance it was to themselves, that our Squadron should be thought superior to that of the Enemy, they falsify'd the Evidence in their Hands, which prov'd it to be otherwise.

Add to this that, not satisfy'd with having, in this perfidious Manner prostituted the Gazette, and the sacred Name of Authority placed at the Head of it, they caus'd the sollowing Paragraph (for it could come from no other Quarter) to be inserted the same Evening, in a Paper known to be under their Influence, if not their Direction.

^{*} See the weak State of the Garrison, as prov'd by General Forcke at his Trial; and compare it with the Advice from our Consul at Carthagena, dated April 21, fignifying. That twelve Men of War had been order'd thither, from Cadra and Ferral; on what Account he could not explain.

"We have received the following Circumstances, relating to the Conduct of a Sea-officer in great command, which, we are told, may be depended upon.

"Though he folicited the Command, he deferred failing from England, till very presfing Letters were fent him from Authority; many frange Delays happened in the Courfe of the Voyage; he lost seven Days at Gibraltar, when the utmost Expedition was necessary for the public Service; he was twelve Days upon his Passage from Gibraltar to the Distance of twelve Leagues off Minorca, where the French Fleet happened to find him; he called a Council as to the Prudence of venturing an Engagement; the bad Condition of the Enemy's Fleet occasioned their only maintaining a running Fight; Night, and the Cautiousness of our Admiral, put an entire End to the Skirmish; after staying four Days, without feeing or feeking for the Enemy, a Council was called to determine upon the Expediency of relieving Fort St. Philip'sthe Errand they were sent out upon; when off Mahon Harbour another Council was called, in which it was resolved, that the endeavouring to throw in the defigned Reinforcements

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was too dangerous, and that the Preservation of the Fort was impossible; [against this Lord Essingham Howard of the Land Forces nobly protested;] another Point determined was, that the Non-appearance of the Enemy's Fleet made it probable they were sailed against Gibraltar, and therefore, that it was prudent to get thither as fast as possible:—Where the British Admiral has since remained in persect security and freedom from them."

To every Word of this the Reader has now a sufficient and satisfactory Answer in his Hand; and that he may be surther convinced, that no Body in the Service, not as yet practiced upon by the Confederates, either did or could harbour a Thought, similar to the odious Misrepresentations thus artfully and wickedly made of it, an Extract of a Letter to him from Sir Benjamin Keen, dated June the 14th, is here laid before him.

"As I hope this will meet you at Gibraltar, I lay hold of the earliest Opportunity to return Thanks likewise, for your Favour of the 25th off Makon, which enabled me to contradict the French Accounts of the Action on the 20th; what they were I presume General Fowke will have communicated to you out of my Letters on that

Subject; and, in spite of their ARTIFICES; your remaining Master of the Field of Battle, decides the Advantage to have been on your Side, to the SATISFACTION of all IMPARTIAL PEOPLE."

There is also another Paragraph in the same Letter, which the present critical Situation of the Admiral makes it also necessary to publish: It is true it will involve the Embassador in the original Sin, which has been visited with so much Rigour, not on him only, but also on General Fowke, and in some Degree, on almost all the Parties concerned in the Opinions given at the two Councils of War: But as no Pretence can be found for making an Example of him, nor Turn can be serv'd by it, he can apprehend nothing from it.

"I most heartily join with you, Sir, in your Concern, That the inevitable Obstacles you had met with in your Navigation, retarded your Presence in the Mediterranean so long; and am fully persuaded, that is, even with the Force you then brought, you had been in those Seas, Before the French had engag'd themselves in the Enterprize, they would not have undertaken it: But as soon as they knew both the Number of

your

your Ships and their QUALITIES, and had COMPARED them with their own, they perfisted in their Attempt, and would risk a Battle, though not an entire Defeat."

Whether Sir Benjamin made use of the same Language in his Letters to the Confederates, can be only known to themselves; but if he did, they paid it no Regard; and contrarywise went on as they had began, in exciting the Populace against the Admiral, by every wicked Device in their Power, and making their own Court to them at his Expence.

Thus a Merit was made in the Gazette and other News Papers, of an Order fent to all the Ports to put him under an Arrest, as soon as he arriv'd; which was done accordingly at Portsmouth on the 26th of July.

Whether these Orders were regular or not, it is certain they were as unusual as severe. Messer. Matthews and Leslock were to the full as obnoxious to the Justice of their Country, as Mr. B— had been represented to be, and yet they were lest at full Liberty, as if no Charge could be maintain'd against them, or no Consequence was to be expected from it.

And though Admiral B -- and Rear Admiral West had been equally involved in, and

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difgrac'd by the superceding Orders, (which the Former in his animated Letter to Mr. Clevland thereon, on Mr. West's Behalf in the most gallant Manner resented) special Care was now taken to sunder them by the most invidious Distinctions. For while one was kept a close Prisoner on Board the Antelope, the other was not only permitted to repair to London, but was cares'd in the most extraordinary Manner.

Particulars recollected at this Time, not for the Sake of infinuating ever fo remotely, that these Favours were unworthly bestow'd on a Man whom the Admiral still continues to esteem as highly as he deserves; but of reminding the Public of the inhumane use that was made of them, in the following Article of News, dated July 28! at the Drawing-Room at Kensington, where there was the greatest Levee that has been known for many Months, Admiral West was distinguish'd by his Majesty in a very particular Manner, who was pleas'd to fay, " Admiral West, I "am glad to see you; I return you my " thanks for your gallant Behaviour; and " wish every Admiral had follow'd your Ex-" ample."

It was obvious, this was meant to give the Coup-

Cause.—For if the Public could be persuaded that the King had already pre-judg'd and pre-condemn'd, who should presume to absolve him? And with such an Air of Considence deliver'd to the Public as this Article was, who but those of the first-Rate understandings, would have been able to discover the Forgery, by reflecting on the utter Impossibility, that the sovereign-Judge should thus openly declare himself a Party, or that the Current of Justice should run polluted from its very Source?

After this Piece of Practice then (which was sufficient to humble the stoutest Heart) we are not to wonder at the Load of Indignities, Hardships, and Outrages, since heaped upon him.

His Letter to Mr. Clevland, giving Notice of his Arrival, and inclosing a Duplicate of his former upon his being superseded, serv'd only to produce an Order from the Admiralty, directing the Marshal to take him into his Custody, and continue him, for the Present, on Board the Antelope, though it might be suppos'd his Health, and it was manifest his Situation, requir'd all the Helps and Consolations that the Shore and his Friends and Relations could give him.

And

And after he had been accordingly continued there some Time, the Head of a certain Board, was graciously pleas'd to intimate, That when he was weary of his Birth he would apply for a Removal----which, however, did not happen, till the melancholy Incident of his Brother's Death, (which had also the most barbarous Constructions put upon it) oblig'd him----and then he was only remov'd from one Ship to another.

When order'd up to London August the 5th, he was surrounded with a Guard of Soldiers, though an Admiralty-Prisoner, and when remanded upon the Road (because those who had sent for him were not as yet agreed how to dispose of him) he was remanded on Ship-board again.

On his fecond Removal on the 9th following, guarded as before, he was not appriz'd, till he came as far as Kingston, whither he was to be convey'd; and when brought to Greenwich after Midnight, found no Provision of any kind made for his Reception.

Though still an Admiral, the Son of a Peer, and a Member of Parliament, he was hoisted up to the Top of the Hospital, into an Apartment where People were yet a-bed,

and where he was told, he was to accommodate himself as well as he could; which for the Remainder of the Night he did accordingly, by making choice of the Floor and his Portmanteau:

In this Situation, obliged to furnish his own Prison with every Convenience it wanted, he thought it high Time, to put their Lordships of the Admiralty in Mind, that no Body in the like Case had ever been used with such Rigour before: But their Lordships were not condescending enough to how nour him with any Reply.

On the contrary, Centinels were placed at his Door, the Marshal was order'd to keep him as closely confined as possible, the Governor play'd the Part of Goaler in Chief, pleading sometimes Lord A——'s Orders, and sometimes Orders of Council for it; so that every Hour made it more and more dubious, whether he was the Governor's Prisoner, or the Marshal's Prisoner, consequently whether he was to be try'd by a Court-Martial, or as an Offender against the State.

And during this whole Interval, his Character was deliver'd over to the Populace, to gratify upon it the worst Passions, that the worst Artifices and Instruments could raise;

belling in Prints, in Verse, or in Prose, that has not been exhausted to render him odious: The very Ghost of his revere defeather has been raised, advising him to lay violent Hands on himself—Last dying Speeches and Consessions have been prepared for him.—Mock Executions have been spirited up to make the Way easy for a real one; and Epitaphs sit only for the Devil himself to inspire, have consigned him over to everlasting Insamy: Forgetting, that the worse the Case, the less Need there is of Aggravation, and that an over Charge implies a Desect of real Matter.

But whatever Effect these wretched Devices have had on the Rabble they were address'd to, they have had none on him—unconscious of having done any Thing inconsistent with his Duty, or even his Instructions—or unbecoming his Station in the severest Sense considered, he has all along regarded them with the Disdain, the Contempt and the Derision they so justly deserve: Nor is it to be understood, that any one Complaint herein letter'd, concerning his past or present Sufferings, ever rose from him—His Resentments, if he may be allow'd to have any,

any, arifing from much higher Confiderations.

It will not be deny'd, however, that, after his Adversaries had in this Way beggar'd both their Wit and their Malice, they did hit upon an Expedient, which not only ruffled the Composure he had till then preferv'd, but rais'd his Indignation. This was the shameless Forgery, of his attempting to make his Escape in his Sisters Cloaths; of which he had so much the quicker Sense, because the only Concern he had at Heart was the Vindication of his Honour; and that he well knew could only be done effectually by a Trial as public as the Injury it had fuftain'd. Had therefore the Prison-Doors been thrown open for him, he would not have purchased Liberty and Life at so dear a Rate: And were his Trial to be dropt on the Side of his Profecutors, they would find he himfelf would infift upon it, according to a Refolution he had taken from the Moment his Flag was frnck

Whether it will or can be a fair one, after what has been faid and done to fet the whole World against him, and the Precedent already set in the Case of G——F——, let the Reader judge for himself when he comes to the End of this Narrative.

The bare Hint of an Escape, though start-K ed ed only by themselves, and never so much as dreamt of by the Prisoner, was now to be countenanced by new Precautions, such as additional Bolts and Bars, additional Guards of Soldiers, and as if all were not sufficient, a Boatswain and twelve Men of the Hospital by way of Supplement, to watch in the Court below.

Nor was it long before this new Officer was made, to see four Men at his Window in the Middle of the Night; upon which the Alarm was given, strict Search was made, the Officer upon Duty leading the Way, ---and though these Men in Buckram were not to be found, nor any Trace that they had ever been there (the Marshal himself sleeping in the outer Room, and his Prisoner in the Inner,) yet this Figment was also to have an Air of Truth thrown upon it, by a further Parade of new Fortifications----No less than eleven Smiths being the next Day fet to work, by the officious Governor, affished by a proportionable Number of Bricklayers, to wall up suspected Doors, (indeed to leave but one open, for the Use of a Water Closet only, two Stairs down was now forbid; and not only to bar up all the Windows, but (as if they had thought him capable of performing the famous Bottle Miracle) even the very ChimChimneys too*.

For what Purposes these wise Measures were taken, and this extraordinary Vigilance was shewn, is not worth Enquiry. But if it was to shew, the Prisoner was to expect no Favour, the Trouble might have been spar'd, for that had been already proclaim'd by every M—and every one of their Echoes; who were known to talk of his Destiny, on all Occasions, with as much Considence, as if it was hardly in the Power of Providence itself, to rescue him out of their Hands.

As therefore, they had, in the most public Manner, before declar'd, if not bespoke the Royal Displeasure against him, so these sanguinary Discourses serv'd as a proper Lesson to all their Dependents and Followers—Admiral B—— was the stricken Deer, which all were to unite in goring out of the Herd. And it was to be understood of Course, that to entertain a Doubt concerning him, much more to drop any Expression in his Behalf, or shew him Countenance by any personal Advance or Civility, was an Offence unpardonable both against King and Country.

^{*} The worthy Governor or Goaler was so jealous that his Care and Diligence was not sufficiently conspicuous, that he reprimanded the Workmen for not having made the Bars across the Chimney Tops to project, so that all Persons passing might see them.

Our

Out of some Mouths a Hint is a Warning, and a Caution a Menace: And to the Difgrace of human Nature, they have had their sull Effect, wherever they have been communicated: These in Possession, and those in Expectancy of Preserment, have been intimidated alike: And what is worst of all, the rendering him unpopular, has render'd those who bid for Popularity, almost as fearful of appearing for him, as those in the Service, not to take a Part against him.

Let it be imagined then what Difficulties he has to struggle with, even in prosecuting the common Forms of his Desence; and what he has further to apprehend from a Continuance of the same indirect Practices, which have hitherto been made to operate so notoriously to his Prejudice.

Instead of sinking, however, under such a Variety of Pressures, as it is probable his Enemies hop'd he would, and meant he should, he has never yet betray'd the least. Sign of Dejection or Dismay, much less of Distrust in his Cause; but, on the contrary, has manifested the same uniform Composure, except in the single Instance of the forged Escape, through the whole Series of his Perfecutions. — This is a Truth his said Enemies are well appriz'd of, would sain suppress

if it were in their Power, and endeavour to falfify as much as they can. ——But tho' they may pronounce him guilty, they cannot make him so; and till condemn'd by his own Conscience, he will to the last Gasp affert and maintain his Innocence.

The Events of War are uncertain---- so it is said in his Majesty's most gracious Answer to the London Address; and so it has always been said ever since Mankind recorded their Miseries. But, according to the Procedure now carrying on against Admiral B—, the Commander that cannot convert Uncertainties into Certainties, must run his Country or forseit his Head,—Ministers are but Men, and Men are all fallible—such has been the Voice of the World till now—but now the World is to learn a new Creed—That more or less Power bestows more or less Infallibility; and consequently, that he who has the most, must always be most in the Right.

It has hitherto been esteem'd a national Duty to affert national Honour, and more especially against the open Attacks of an open Enemy—But now it seems the Reverse is to be the Practice; and those who have the Lead amongst us, are not only become so complaisant as to give up the Point of Honour on the first Challenge, but their Champion

pion too, or as the Vulgar would express it; whatever M. de la Galissoniere says, they are ready to swear.

And upon the whole; let every thinking Man in Britain ask himself a few such Questions as these: Whether the putting such a Change as this upon him is not one of the highest Affronts that could be put upon his Understandings? Whether in the Case of Admiral B—— it has not been put upon the whole Community? Whether any Pretence of Delufion, Rashness, Prejudice, Wantonnefs, or even Connection and Influence can excuse any Man for suffering himself to be made an Accessary to it? And whether it has not a direct Tendency to ruin the Service both by Sea and Land, by discouraging Men of Parts and Character from engaging in it, and thereby throwing it wholly into the Hands of Fools and Madmen; fince none but fuch will accept a Commission on the ignominious Terms of ferving with a Halter about their Necks, that a Knot of domineering Grandees may be exempt not only from Punishment but Imputation?

ERRATA.

Pag. 7. l. 17. after the Word in, add, the Torbay with P. 11. l. S. for repaid, read, returned.







